# FREE POLAND

A SEMI-MONTHLY

The Truth About Poland and Her People

Vol. I-No. 2



**OCTOBER 1, 1914** 

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### Free Poland an Inevitable Result of the War

By GUGLIELMO FERRERO, The Celebrated Italian Historian

(From "The Chicago Tribune")

E are passing from surprise to surprise. After seeing a heroic and unconquerable army emerge from the factories and mines of Belgium are we about to see in the far east of Europe Poland issue forth alive from the monstrous sepulcher in which it has been lying for more than a century?

One would say so. The three empires that were the executioners of Poland have become all at once its fondest friends. War had scarcely been declared before the report that Russian Poland had revolted was circulated in Austria.

All at once the German and Austrian newspapers announced that Germany and Austria purposed to free Russian Poland from the Muscovite yoke. Immediately the Austrian and German governments began trying various means of courting the Poles.

The czar in his turn replied with a master stroke. In a solemn proclamation he promised that if Russia were victorious he would do nothing less than reconstitute under his scepter the kingdom of Poland, its own administration. its own language, its own education, its own religion.

There is no doubt that of the three Polands the Prussian is that which in the last thirty years has had to maintain the severest struggle. There is but one reason, and it is simple. Prussia has never been content to rule the Poles, but has even sought to Germanize them.

The rapid growth of Prussia in the last two centuries is partly due to the fact that she has succeeded in Germanizing the scattered Polish population she has gradually subjugated. Many of those who are now faithful and fervent Prussians are grandsons and great-grandsons of Poles, whose language, religion, and customs the Prussian administration has changed.

Many of the cities of Eastern Prussia—Dantzig and Koenigsberg for example—were founded by Poles. There is no doubt that as Prussia approached more closely to the heart of ancient Poland she had met a more stubborn resistance, but the Germanization of the Poles is, so to speak, a historic necessity for Prussia.

So the Poles can hope for nothing from Germany, and they know it. Germany may in these days consent to the appointment of some archbishop who is beloved of the Poles, but if she wins she will resume the Germanization of her Polish provinces with redoubled vigor. Arrangements and agreements are not possible.

But can Poland hope from Austria the miracle of a partial national resurrection? It would seem so. Austria is an old empire that has rapidly deteriorated in the last few years, principally because of her failure to satisfy simultaneously the national aspirations of the Germans, the Czechs, the Hungarians, the Italians, and the southern Slavs, of which she is composed.

But supposing that she should issue victorious from this vast conflict, would she have the power to satisfy, in addition to those that are already worrying her so much the national aspirations of the Polish people, increased in numbers by the annexation of part of Russian Poland? The confusion of that Tower of Babel which is the Austrian empire would be increased.

Russia remains. An ocean of blood and hatred lies between Russians and Poles. Russia, also, like Prussia, has ferociously persecuted the Poles; she has tried to Russify them by force; she has persecuted their language, their religion, their national traditions.

Russia is so vast and so populous that she can without any loss, even with advantage to herself, renounce the useless chimera of Russianizing Poland and can unfold the czar's crown into an imperial tiara and a royal diadem.

She will inevitably be driven to do it, however feebly the Poles may be urging her at this moment; for it would be absurd to assume that, while engaging in such a gigantic war on behalf of the Slavs of the south; who are as it were, the cadets of the great family, she should persist in persecuting those of the Slavic peoples who first were civilized and to whom the history of Slavic culture gives the right to be considered the firstborn.

Summing up, an understanding between Germany and Poland seems impossible. Austria has been more friendly or less hostile to Poland, but it does not appear that she can do much in the future for the benefit of the unfortunate nation. Russia has been bitterly hostile, but she might, if she would, roll away the heavy stone from the sepulcher in which Poland was immured alive at the end of the eighteenth century.

This is so true that several years ago, at the close of the war with Japan, the idea of conceding autonomy to Poland was already discussed in Russia, but Germany prevented it. I learned from one of the high functionaries of the Russian court that Germany informed St. Petersburg government several years ago, that any concession of autonomy Russia might make to her Polish subjects would be considered by Germany as a casus belli.

The behavior of the Poles who are subject to Russia is very uncertain. Will they yield to Russia in this supreme hour and become reconciled with the great Slavic power that is holding out its hands to them? Or will they try to embarrass it by revolutionary attempts, as the German newspapers are repeating?

This is one of the many ridles of this tremendous war. The Poles are an ardent, generous, brave, patriotic people, but sometimes too imaginative and inclined to great mystic, impetuous impulses which carry the mind beyond the confines of reality.

The hope that Poland alone, by a miraculous revolution, will be able to overthrow the three empires—the three immeasurable blocks that close her tomb—has long inflamed the minds of many Poles.

It is to be feared that to many Poles a kingdom reconstituted and protected by Russia will not seem that prodigious national resurrection that four generations have awaited with the same faith as that with which the Jews awaited the Messiah.

Then the move of Russia might in part be vain. Events will tell us which of these hypotheses will be verified. Certain it is that for the Poles also the decisive hour is about to strike.

May their ardent national genius inspire them; may our generation see the close of the long and terrible trial which their nation has undergone. All generous hearts will exult, forgetting the horrors of war, the day on which Poland shall live again among the great civilized states of Europe.

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# Mr. Churchill on the Terms of Peace

By THOMAS T. LASECKI



HE speech which Mr. Churchill, the British first Lord of the Admiralty, delivered at a public meeting in London, Friday evening Sept. 11, was one of great significance as stating the attitude of Great Britain and its plans for

the continuance of the war. Such phrases as "no compromise" and "our life against Germany" indicated unmistakably that the war will be pursued until Germany begs for peace and accepts it on the hard terms of the allies. This might have been expected. The extent of the British foreign commercial interests and even the safety of the empire demand, in the British view, that the menace of expanding German militarism be checked once for all.

But to the Poles and the other enslaved nations in Europe the speech was even of greater significance and interest. After the Russian manifesto to the Poles, it was the first ray of sunshine, emanating from one who may be considered a semi-official spokesman of the allies. Mr. Churchill's statement was much more sweeping than the Russian manifesto. It is the first recognition from a high source of the danger to European peace from oppressing the lesser nationalities by superior force.

The French nation has always been friendly to Poles, and the sincere intercession of the French government may be safely expected.— Italy will, no doubt, suport the cause of freedom. The eminent Italian historian, Guglielmo Ferrero, has already given expression to his sympathies for Poland in a carefully prepared newspaper article.—Such a prominent Englishman as H. G. Wells has also expressed very progressive views on the future role of downtrodden nations.

And now Mr. Churchill makes it known that in the terms of peace to be offered Germany and Austria, if defeated, will be incorporated a plan for a Europe reconstructed along ethical and logically ethnic lines. Mr. Churchill evidently recognizes that a despotic rule of a discontented people is as much a menace to peace as selfish autocracy, rampant imperialism and the ruthless striving for power and expansion. The strength of national consciousness, especially under adverse conditions, must be conceded. Austria and even Germany recognize this fact in their belated courting of the Poles during the present crisis. In this respect Great Britain and the United States are the leading nations of the world.

Prussia's mistake in her treatment of the Poles is no less notable than that of Bismark, who, in a letter regarding the famous three Kaisers' alliance to combat advancing democracy, condemned the Austrian tolerant policy toward the Poles. The Prussian attempts to exterminate the Poles have been as systematic and thorough as possible, but the results are far from thorough.

As Ferrero puts it, Prussians took upon themselves the Germanization of Prussian Poland as a historical necessity. Conciliation or friendliness is foreign to Prussianism, which tolerates no rival neighbor whom it cannot subdue. Prussianism is antisocial and the embodiment of nihilistic force. Its activity has been the same in Alsace-Lorraine and Schleswig-Holstein as in the Polish provinces. As to the Poles, the Prussians know but will not recognize the debt of gratitude they owe to them. The defeat of the Knights of the Cross was the first check to rampant Prussianism. The Knights, prototypes of modern Prussians, exterminated the natives of Prussia with the same ruthlessness with which the Prussians of to-day are endeavoring to implant their mailed fist upon the Polish provinces.

There is no magnanimity in Austria's treatment of the Poles. The reason is self-interest. The government needs the Polish vote to control the parliament.

Austria's granting the so-called autonomy to Galicia was only a slight reparation for the dis-

memberment of Poland. Otherwise the Habsburgs have been strongly influenced by the Kaiser. The forbidding of interpellations by Polish members of the Austrian parliament on the Prussian dispossession law is a notable example of this influence. And in the event of Germany's victory, it goes without saying that the Kaiser will completely dominate Austria to the utter detriment of Slavic interests.

Will Russia show herself recreant to the pledges of autonomy given to the Poles? Reviewing past history, we find Russia's failure to keep her pledges resulted in the triple partition of Poland and the uprisings of 1831 and 1863.

However, it is known that in Russian higher officialdom there has taken place a radical change of policy towards the Poles. The Russian people in the main have never approved oppressive measures against Poland. Many intelligent Russians have frequently advocated not only a liberal treatment of their Slavic brethren in the West, but even a cordial rapprochement between the two peoples. The granting of many reforms and limited home rule in 1905 was a development of this policy.

But there again savage Prussianism made itself felt. It is stated by the reliable authorities that the Kaiser threatened to make war on Russia if she persisted in making the lot of the Poles more endurable. The freedom as enjoyed by Poles in Galicia and the prospective relief of their burden in Russian Poland would certainly have proved menacing to the propaganda of Prussianism.

It is clear that Prussia is the greatest enemy not only of re-created Poland, but even of the continued existence of the Polish nationality.

The inference, therefore, is justifiable that with the incubus of Prussian militarism cast aside Russia will endeavor to inaugurate a policy of genuine liberation with regard to the Poles and reunite the partitioned sections.

In this connection, the attitude of the allies, France and England—and the neutral powers, Italy, the United States and others, will be of tremendous importance. Democratic France, an undoubted friend of Poland, will surely help to ring the knell of autocracy and oppression.

Even if Great Britain does not desire the utter helplessness of Germany, it must see the

advantage of a buffer state as a check to the alleged Russian influence. The formation of this buffer state will weaken Germany or Austria only in a small degree, inasmuch as therefrom the disharmonious and indigestible elements shall be removed.

This motive will also actuate France, and even Italy, especially after the Kaiser's telegram to the king of the Italy, which promises revenge for the latter's failure to support Teutonic aggression.

As to the United States, no sane man doubts that it will cast its weight on the scale of freedom and justice. And the 25,000,000 Poles would never forget the efforts of Great Britain, France and other powers in their behalf. This gratitude would be a valuable asset at critical times which may yet arise in the future course of events. Doubt has been expressed in some quarters as to the sincerity of the British desire to break the back of German militarism. Some skeptics have even gone further and raised the question as to whether any geographical changes will take place in Europe.

It may be remarked that Great Britain sees the necessity of inflicting the utmost punishment on German perfidy, as shown in the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, in the projected violation of the neutrality of Switzerland, and in the endeavor to induce England to restrain France from keeping its treaty obligations with Russia.

The utterances of these skeptics overlook the necessity of ending the "bulldozing" policy of Prussian militarism with its "chip on the shoulder", which only needed the Servian firecracker to fly into a frothing rage and strike at everybody within reach. They also fail to take into account the ethnic conditions which set off the first charge in the series of explosions leading to the present conflagration.

Mr. Churchill, the British Cabinet and the allies evidently realize the futility of ending the war unless despotic domination be removed from the subjugated nationalities of Europe and Prussian militarism be reduced to a state where it cannot seriously affect the peace of the world. Under any other conditions the cessation of progressive armaments will be impossible and even democracy, which is heralded as the probable beneficiary of this gigantic strife, will be checked for an indefinite time.



# Sienkiewicz's "Enquete-Prusse Et Pologne"

Opinions of Prominent Americans and Englishmen on the Prussian Dispossession Law

Compiled by CHARLES WACHTEL



ENRYK Sienkiewicz, lately imprisoned by the Austrians for his pro-Russian sympathies, whose world - famous name needs no introduction to the intelligent reader, organized in the early months of 1908 an international inqui-

ry with the object of ascertaining the opinions of celebrated representatives of culture throughout the world on the ever-living Polish Question. The special aim of this inquiry was to fight the barbarous expropriation bill, shortly before introduced in the Prussian Diet, whose object was to eject the Poles residing in Prussian Poland from their homes and hearths through the condemnation of their farming property.

This bill was in line with the exterminating Prussian policy of "ausrotten". Official Prussia was not satisfied with the accomplishments of the colonization commission, a private body subsidized by the government, which bought property from the Poles in order to re-sell it on easy terms to German settlers. In order to accelerate the Germanization of Prussian Poland and in order to deprive the Poles of representation in the Prussian and the German law-making bodies by creating in each electoral district a preponderance of German votes, the dispossession bill was devised as a legal means of ousting the Polish owners from their estates wherever the needs of advancing Prussianism deemed it imperative.

The great author of "Quo Vadis" received hundreds of willing replies from men of note of every nationality. A few of the opinions of prominent Englishmen and Americans are reprinted below. Similar expressions of disapproval by noted Italians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Russians, Japanese and even Germans themselves of the iniquitous dispossession law will be reprinted in succeeding issues of "Free Poland."

I have to thank you for your letter, in which you do me the honor to ask me my opinion of the Polish Compulsory Dispossession Bill which is now in the present parliament. I doubt the wisdom of expressing any opinion upon the legislation of Prussia. We English have been too much given to sit in judgment on all other nations; I do not think it has done the other nations much good, and it has certainly made us very much dis-

liked as Pharisees of Europe. With reference to the subject of your letter, I may, however, remark that whether the policy of Prussia in Poland be ethically good, or ethically bad it does not seem likely to meet with the success, which its authors desire. This I may safely say, because we English for hundreds of years practised a policy of Irish dispossession far more terrible, than the worst that the Prussian propose to employ, with the result that we have had to confess our utter failure. There is nothing so fragile as an empire, and nothing is so indestructible as a nationality.

William T. Stead,

Editor of "The Review of Reviews."

Notwithstanding the suffering which the Prussian Anti-Polish Bill must inevitably bring upon many individual Poles, I welcome it as a cause for rejoicing to lovers of Poland. Its injustice and cruelty are obvious to every unprejudiced person, but Poland has lived through much injustice and cruelty, and the vitality of the Nation remains unimperiled. The brutality of this new measure is familiar enough, what is unusual and important is its singular political shortsightedness. The thing amounts to a confession of impotence. The colonization scheme has failed and now, in helpless rage and panic, official Prussia has broken up the conspiracy to ignore Poland, into which she and others had entered and has forced the Polish Question upon the attention of Europe. She has given to the Poles a magnificent opportunity to foster the growth of their own eco nomic and intellectual independence by boycotting German products. She has quickened a feeling of a national solidarity, which should help to hasten the slow process by which the scattered forces of Poland are being molded into one formidable whole. Also she has outraged the moral sense of all that is best in Germany, and has put herself hopelessly in the wrong before the eyes of the entire civilized world. Finally, if the boycott should prove successful which depends largely upon the determination and staying power of the Poles themselves, official Prussia will have made herself ridiculous. What better service could Poland ask of an enemy?

> Mme Ethel Lilian Vyonich, Woman of Letters.

I am more than glad to join in your protest on behalf of Polish freedom. There is no question. that the almost unanimous feeling of the American people will support your plea. Our nation has a natural sympathy for freedom. The hatred of monarchies, as such, has almost entirely disappeared among us though I can remember, myself, when our national feeling was intolerant toward kings and empires. We have today a more generous friendliness and liking for good government of whatever sort; and our national attitude is very friendly toward the German empire. But we believe always in real liberty, which can exist as well under a monarchy as under a republic. We believe that the wisest monarchy is that which grants the largest freedom compatible with law and order. As librarian, editor, author and student of history, I feel confident that the sympathies of the whole American people will be with Poland in the protest against dispossession.

Chas. F. Lummis, Librarian of the Public Library in Los Angeles.

Not until the Reichstag shall have passed Prince Buelow's Bill for the expropriation of the Poles in Posen shall I believe that the German people have been led to forfeit their claim to the respect and esteem of Humanity. In that event the patriotic cry of "Deutschland ueber Alles" will have been sung to its basest interpretation.

George Meredith, Man of Letters.

I regard the proposal of the Bill for the Compulsory Dispossession in Prussia as a disgrace to modern civilization and as a question of common humanity and not merely the struggle between German and Slav, as some try to minimize it. I have not hesitated to say this whenever I have had an opportunity both in literary journals and in the circles of private friends. It is astounding that such a cynically brutal proposition could be made in the XX century.

W. R. Morfill,

Professor of the Slavonic Languages in the Oxford University and member of the Britannic Academy of Science.

Your letter on the proposed iniquitous legislation of the Prussian government upon the Polish people of Prussian Poland, has been received by me. I deeply sympathize with the sentiments contained in your letter and willingly attach my signature with what little influence I may have, in vehement protest against such outrageous laws. You can rest assured of the best wishes of the friends of Liberty wherever the news contained in your letter may be told.

Joseph Scott,

President of the School Board of Los Angeles.

The Polish race, to those who are acquainted with it, is the subtest and most delicate, and one of the noblest and most heroic races of Europe. Its existence should be as precious to Europe as that of a priceless jewel. The hand of Prussia is stretched out to steal it, the hand of a thief snatching at a jewel. If it is stolen, there will be an end of its vivid exquisite live; its light will be put out under bolts and bars in darkness. What has Prussia to do with a race which it can not understand, a race which desires only peace with freedom? Certainly there is no greater crime than to take from a man his land, his laws, or his language. Prussia would do all this with that portion of Poland over which she has assumed jurisdiction. Will no one open the eyes of Prussia before she flounders into evil?

Arthur Symons, Man of Letters.

I have visited Poland and have much sympathy and admiration for Poles in Prussia and elsewhere. There are wrongs in every country and we all have to give our best energies to righting the wrongs in our own countries, but I am glad to join in the protest against the Bill of Compulsory Dispossession. The sympathy of the best people in every country is with you.

Havelock Ellis, Man of Letters.

The scheme to expropriate the Poles is an insult to the civilization and the sense of Europe. It is a wrong which can not fail to bring its own punishment, for all history shows that these attempts to destroy a national spirit by tyranny from without only succeed in making that spirit more vital, resolute and ultimately triumphant.

A. J. Gardiner,
Managing Editor of the "Daily News."

In response to your kind letter permit me to say that the Bill of Compulsory Dispossession as described by you is, of course, a monstrous outrage. Every attempt of this sort to uproot a people in order to fill their lands with men of another type has been monstrous, and it has always been followed by a destructive reaction. I sincerely trust that the plan may be abandoned in the face of criticism of the civilized world.

David Starr Jordan,
President of Leland Stanford University.

### The Polish Question in the British and the French Press

### THE BRITISH PRESS

The London "Daily News":-The leader of Poles in the Duma has announced the solidarity of the Poles of the Kingdom with the Russian people. The Polish nobles of the Government of Minsk, outside the Kingdom, have met together to express their loyalty to Russia. In London the Poles are considering a plan for forming a Polish legation to fight on our side. The same thing is happening in France. There is at present no indication, so far as we know, of the attitude of the Poles of Galicia. One thing is certain, they will place their own interests before everything else. It is important for the Poles to be on the side of the victors in this war. This consideration is likely to induce the Poles of Austria to throw in their lot with their brethren in Russia. Prussian oppression of the Poles has been too brutal to leave any doubt as to the attitude of the people of the Duchy, a territory more seething with discontent than Alsace.

The London "Spectator": — We hope that Russia may be able to dissipate all Polish hesitation. Let her guarantee the Prussian and Austrian Poles absolute protection, and at the same time let her exact from the Poles promises that they will never use autonomy to oppress Jews or Ruthenians or any other minority. If this be accomplished, the war will more then ever be stamped as a war for the safeguarding of the smaller peoples who dare to preserve the distinctive marks of their race or their nationality.

The London "Daily Chronicle":—The Russian imperial manifesto, promising the Poles autonomy and a united Poland for loyalty to the cause of the allies, is "a masterpiece of imaginative statecraft."

### THE FRENCH PRESS

Gabriel Hanotaux, the great French historian, in the "Figaro":—After the frightful war, this war which was necessary in order to exorcise the devilish spirit which urges Germany to the most frantic of struggles, what shall the new Europe be? The proclamation of the Grand Duke Nicholas reveals the principle upon which the con-

sequences of victory are to be based. Under the scepter of the czar Poland shall be born again, free in her religion, in her language, in her autonomy, and Europe, the whole liberal world, the countries of civilization and high ideals, will know what they have been fighting for. This war, had it no other object than that which we have indicated, would be well justified. Let our adversaries say what they have been fighting for. They are fighting to maintain the yoke of servitute imposed by braggarts, blockheads, and saberbearers. It is a war of officers, as said a German soldier who was picked up on the field of battle at Liege. We will make a new Europe, free and united. We are numerous enough to espouse all causes that are just. France is used to such sacrifices as are imposed by such a course of action. She needs only to feel that her heart is beating in union with that of the Allies. England does not wish to incur the charge of dishonor. does not wish to submit to a German voke: Russia is restoring the Kingdom of Poland. then, without fear and without reproach and engage in the great impending battle. The cause is understood before the tribunal of God.

G. Clemenceau, the former French premier, in "L'Homme Libre": — One of the greatest crimes of history is thus to be ended. The Allies in war waged in pursuit of justice and liberty naturally seek support in an appeal to the noble sentiments of independence, which form one of the strongest forces in the human breast. Nicholas II. should now certainly reflect upon the position of the people of Finland.

As for the Poles, there are quite 300,000 of them in the armies of the German Kaiser, and they would ask nothing better than to direct their weapons against those who lead them bound in the chains of an iron discipline. Poland rises miraculously like Lazarus from the grave. Neither William II. nor Francis Joseph could have attempted this deed without making war upon each other.

It needed courage to break with the harsh traditions of Russia, but it was inevitable that a war of liberation should lead to still further extensions of right and liberty between the peoples.

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### To Editors and Publishers

The Polish Question is a timely one throughout the world. The contents of this publication will furnish, we hope, adequate material for use at opportune moments.

### Comment

The scrap-of-paper theory of international ethics must go by the board. It is such morality that actuated the partitioners of Poland. It is the rule of the claw and the tooth. It pushes all the smaller nations over the very brink of existence. It makes all effort toward universal peace and disarmament so much treadmill work. It reduces the value of all the arbitration treaties negotiated by this government to that of the rags in the composition of the paper. Is mankind to return to the antediluvian days of anthropoids? is this world to become a jungle in which the tiger and the jackal hold sway? We may as well, if it were feasible, pack the earth into one of those German siege guns and blow it off into peace.

Agony, the lot of mothers and nations, attends the birth of offspring and epochs. The unparalleled magnitude of the present conflict which statesmen and advocates of peace tell us is the last gasp of militarism, seems to portend the rea-

lization of the most magnificent ideal of mankind, the final embodiment of brotherly love, after the discarding of the instruments of murder, into a world embracing peace. But first the hydra of militarism must be scotched, never to rise again. Official neutrality will be upheld, but the sentiments of mankind are with those who are opposed to autocracy and its spawn—militarism.

It is a painful duty to take issue with the article on "The Slavs in America" which Edward Alsworth Ross, professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin, contributes to the August number of "The Century". A contributor in this issue of "Free Poland" discusses some of the so-

#### STILL IN SHACKLES



When will She enter the Temple of Freedom?

This cartoon appeared in the Polish Daily News (Dziennik Chicagoski) shortly after the introduction in the British Parliament of the Irish Home-Rule Bill.

ciological features of this article. Here only some of the inaccuracies in the introduction to Professor Ross' article will be pointed out. Lack of space precludes a full discussion.

A method, that makes sweeping generalizations regarding a race that numbers to-day about 140,000,000 souls and is homogeneous neither in history nor in present structure, can hardly be deemed scientific. To make only disparaging comment about the historical antecedents of a race, to quote only one-sided authorities whose hostility to the Slavs is a matter of history, finally to drag out certain alleged characteristics more than a thousand years old, cannot be called a fair and impartial treatment of a question. Begin-

ning his article in this manner, Professor Ross naturally predisposes his reader at the very start against the Slav. If the author consulted German sources alone, the causes for this are obvious.

Let us take up his various inaccuracies in succession.

There is scant, if any, historical basis for the statement that the Gauls, Germans and Avars subjugated the Slavs at various times.

The assertion that "they played no master role in history" is so loose as almost to deserve to be called false. Speaking for Poland alone, it will suffice to point out a few details. In its days of glory, Poland was the acknowledged leader of culture in Eastern Europe. For preventing the Turkish and Tartar hordes from overrunning Western Europe, the popes justly conferred upon her the noble cognomen of the "Bulwark of Christianity." A king laid his life on the field of battle with the Turks at Warna. Another king's splendid victory over the Ottomans at Vienna saved at least the German Empire, if not all of Europe, from subjugation by the Crescent. At the beginning of the XVIII century Poland was yet the largest state in Europe, excepting Russia. If a role of this kind is contemptuously to be swept aside on the plea that it is not "a master role", then what in Prof. Ross' opinion is the proper role for a nation to enact in order to secure a creditable record in the annals of mankind?

Their very name is a "conqueror's insult" — says Professor Ross. We hope that this does not measure the depth of his philological knowledge. We are sorry that he takes his Prussian authorities with such a lamentable lack of criticism. The name Slav ("Słowianin" in Polish), owes its origin, as every Pole, Bohemian, Russian, and every other Slav knows, to the Slavic words "słowo" or "sława", meaning "word" or "fame", and not to the German "sklave", the Latin "sclavus", or the English "slave."

In reply to Professor Ross' preposterous assertion that during the time of the Crusades "much of Slavland lay in heathen darkness" it may be sufficient to say that Poland adopted Christianity in the middle of the tenth century and the other Slavic nations much earlier.

The charge that the practice of suttee existed among the Slavs during heathen times is pure fiction. As to human sacrifices they were entirely limited to the execution of the enemies and were practically extinct before the tenth century.

In passing it may pointed out that to find examples of barbarism one need not go back to heathen times.

When Professor Ross says that "while the

Bohemians and the Moravians, thanks to a great intellectual awakening, have come up abreast of the Germans, the bulk of the Slavs remain on a much lower plane of culture", he shows his lack of familiarity with the present status of Polish culture, which is as vigorous and varied as that of any nation in the world. Space allows us to give but one illuminating detail: the first university in Central Europe was founded in Cracow in the XIV century, even before any German university. It has been since in continuous existence and is today one of the most important centers of Polish culture. More enlightment the learned professor



of sociology will find in articles in this and other issues of this publication and also in the "Dziennik Chicagoski", a Polish daily newspaper of Chicago, which recently devoted considerable attention to his article.

present war.

Prussian "atrocities" are not confined to warfare. In "The Fatherland", a weekly devoted to "fair play for Germany and Austria", the following may be found in the issue of August 31:

"....the American people are gradually beginning to discover the cloven hoof behind the little phalanx of English editorial lickspittles who disgrace the Americans by being more English than the English." In the "Illinois Staats Zeitung", September 17, a tit bit of cultured Prussianism is found which nothing can surpass. It is a paragraph in the editorial column which reads as follows:

"Es gibt nur ein Mittel, Amerika von seinem fanatischen Deutschenhass zu bekehren: Stockpruegel auf den Magen."

Its English rendering reads thus:

"There is only one way of curing America of her fanatical hatred for the Germans: flogging her stomach with a cane."

Further comment is hardly necessary.

The breadth and depth of Hugo Muensterberg's knowledge of the history of Danzig, which he calls his native city, is amazing. He is a professor at Harvard University and a writer of a few books and many magazine articles. In "The Threatened Provinces", an article in "The Fatherland", he writes of Dantzig as follows:

"We know Dantzig's history since 997. At

the end of the fourteenth century three hundred ships brought goods there from England every year; and at the end of the fifteenth more than seven hundred left Danzig's harbor yearly. Its world commerce was often checked and always again came to power. In the last few decades it has developed its resources with new energy and is flourishing to-day. Will all this German work be lost to Russian greed?"

This is a typical illustration of the Prussian method of treating all things Polish. Professor Muensterberg entirely suppresses the fact that Danzig was under Polish rule from the eleventh century to the end of the eighteenth century with the exception of a short period in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the Knights of the Cross held sway there. This to Professor Muensterberg is a negligible historical detail. Apparently, the occupation of this Polish city by Prussia in the second partition of Poland in 1793 wipes out, in his opinion, all the Polish antecedents of this town.



### TOLAND TOWN TOLAND

By K. T. Z.

OLAND lives and Poland thrives
Through persecutions dire,
Poland burns a thousand lives
On Love's eternal fire.
Peace above all human aim
And neighbor's one good will
Are virtues which her heart inflame,
Are her ideals still.

The glimmering past of ages gone,
Though screened by fables hoary,
Bespeaks to man the early dawn
Of Slavland's glorious story,
There Europe's furrowed virgin soil
And forest old primeval
Bear witness to a people's toil
And Poland's quiet upheaval;
From state uncouth, from lowly life,
From darkest ages' ocean
Reborn is Poland without strife:
Good will's celestial potion.

Behold, her fields of yellow hue
And colors blessed with plenty
Supply with bread the Teuton-Jew
For generations twenty;
Behold the Pole unguarded stand
To greet with love the dreary,
And friend and foe with outstretched hand
Bid welcome true and cheery.
Behold Sarmatia never cease
With thought of no amendment
To propagate the bond of peace,
The Lord's endeared commandment.

But yonder comes the bloody foe
With sword and fiery thunder,
When from his plow the Pole must go
Defend his home from plunder.
And all too soon the deadly dart
Spreads ruin dark and gory,
And all too soon the Polish heart
Breaks on the field of glory.
While none too late the bugle call
Incites the soul to bravery,
For all too soon did Poland fall
In throes of triple slavery.

But hark again! The distant peal
Of bloody war's ablution
Is ushering in Almighty's weal
Of justice—retribution.
Arise, Sarmatia more than brave!
Now with a giant endeavor
Cast off huge bowlders from your grave,
But cast them off forever!
Mid shot and shell and cannon-roar,
Mid universal roll and
Stampede of death, as e'er before,
Be true to peace, O Poland!

Poland lives and Poland thrives
Through persecutions dire,
Poland lives a thousand lives
On Love's eternal fire.
Peace above all human aim
And neighbor's heart, good will
Are virtues which her soul inflame,
Are her ideals still.

# **Evidences of Polish Culture**

Compiled for "FREE POLAND" By C. W. and T. T. L.

II.



HE object of these summaries, as explained in the first issue of "Free Poland", is to refute the baseless charge of barbarism and lack of culture against the Slav in so far as it concerns the Polish nation. These sum-

maries give only the salient and most important facts in the various fields of national endeavor and do not aim to be exhaustive, nor even complete as to details. Some entirely new subjects are given in this issue.

#### LEGISLATION

The Statute of Lenczyca was promulgated in 1181 by King Casimir the Just, who was also its initiator and part author. The chief object of this first collected body of laws in Poland was to protect the peasants and small landowners against the powerful nobility.

The Statute of Wislica was promulgated in 1368 by King Casimir the Great. It was a collection of the laws which had arisen from customs and practices and the royal decisions. The statute laid down the principle of equality of all ranks and classes before the law.

The first Polish code, embracing all the Polish laws and statutes, was prepared and published in a printed book in 1505 by John Łaski, Archbishop of Gnesen and Primate of Poland. It was the foundation of all later Polish legislation. Archbishop Łaski was a celebrated jurist, author, statesman and scholar.

The Constitution of the Third of May, was the result of the labors of the Polish Diet, which sat for four years. It was promulgated May 3, 1791. It is the first constitution on the continent of Europe. It is also noteworthy as the direct cause which led to the successful onslaught of the surrounding monarchies on the first constitutional government on the European continent. This constitution established the principle of citizenship, making Christian and Jew, peasant, artisan, townsman, and nobleman equal before the law, and imposed on all equal duties toward the country. It also provided for universal religious liberty within the confines of Poland. The first French constitution was not finished till 1795.

#### STATESMANSHIP

Zbigniew Olesnicki, 1389-1455, Cardinal and Polish Primate, one of the foremost of Polish statesmen; legate to the Council of Basilea. Cardinal Stanislaus Hozyusz, 1504-1579, scholar and statesman; was president of the Council of Trent; at one time candidate for pope; privy councilor to Pope Gregory XIII.

John Zamoyski, 1541-1605, the greatest statesman of Europe in his time, also scholar and writer; Chancellor to the Crown during the reign of kings Stefan Batory and Sigismund III; a great stategist. It used to be said in his time that while Warsaw was the capital of Poland, his little town of Zamość was the capital of Europe.

Francis Smolka, 1810-1899, one of the greatest of Polish statesmen of recent times; president and vice-president of the Austrian parliament for many years.

### PRINTING AND JOURNALISM

The first printing office was established in Cracow about 1450, shortly after the invention of that art in Europe. The first Polish book was printed in 1465 by Świętopełk Fiol. The art of printing developed rapidly in Poland. Splendid specimens of the fine work of this period are found in the British Museum and in the Jagellon Library in Cracow. Before the invention of printing block-books were in use in Poland. Excellent specimens of pictures, litanies and books, reproduced by this system, are extant.

Among the early Polish books should be mentioned the first Polish code of laws, arranged by Archbishop Łaski and published by him in 1505.

#### RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

Poland was the first of the European countries to offer hospitality to the Jews and to grant them personal security and religious freedom, while in other countries they were subject to cruel persecutions. Initial privileges were granted to them by Boleslaus the Pious in 1264. These were greatly expanded by King Casimir the Great in 1368. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries kings Sigismund August and Stefan Batory assured the safety of the Jews by additional provisions. The latter even imposed a severe penalty for suspecting the Jews of the use of Christian blood in making matzos.

Poland always extended complete religious toleration to all sects and denominations. It was

never the scene of such religious wars as tore the rest of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Polish kings were always strenuously opposed to the persecution of any Protestant denominations. Lutherans from Germany, Calvinists from France and Switzerland took refuge in Poland from persecutions, built their own churches and worshiped God without molestation in their own manner. St. Bartholomew's Night and the executions by order of Henry VIII were features of that period in other countries of Europe.

### LITERATURE.

Klemens Janicki, 1516-1543, received the title of "poeta coronatus" from Pope Paul III; the greatest Latin poet of his time.

Bernard Wapowski, 1450-1535, historian.

John Dlugosz, 1415-1480, historian and educator; teacher of the sons of King Casimir Jagellon

Matthew Sarbiewski (Sarbeius), 1595-1640, the Polish Horace, received the title of "poeta coronatus" from Pope Urban VIII; his poems were read in the English schools in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as models of classic literature.

Stanislaus Wyspianski, 1869-1907; the greatest Polish poet after that peerless trial—Mickiewicz, Słowacki and Krasiński.

### MILITARY SCIENCE.

Casimir Siemionowicz, seventeenth century, military expert, author of "Ars magnae artilleriae", which was translated into the German, English, French and Dutch languages.



# Why Poles Distrust Russia

By STANISLAUS OSADA



ESPATCHES, obviously from Russian sources, as might be easily inferred, are reporting that the manifesto of the Russian czar is being received with great enthusiasm. This manifesto promised to unite the Pole's lands

under the czar's scepter and grant the Poles freedom of speech, and religion and complete autonomy. Despatches from Russian sources tell that the Poles are receiving Germans with ovations as deliverers from Russian subjugation. To cap all this, news has arrived to the effect that Poles have taken to arms and actively declared their sympathies, which are for the Russian cause, if the alleged informations are from Russian sources, or for Prussia, if the latter is responsible for the report.

Poles of the United States, who know the history of their nation, cannot give any credence to these fables. Their history contains numerous proofs that our despoilers cannot be trusted. Our countrymen in Europe are also familiar with these proofs. All reports of any serious revolutionary movement are also preposterous. About 2,000,000 Poles from 18 to 60 years of age were drafted into the armies of our enemies. It is difficult to believe that any men were left capable of starting a revolution.

As to Russia, three times in our history we have experienced the value of imperial assurances and promises.

The first time was when the Czarina Katharine, the "protectress" and "ally" of Poland, hav-

ing brought about the first partition in 1772, assured the nation that it was for our good and that no danger was threatening us anymore. And when the people, moved deeply by the calamity, began to rise from a century-long somnolence with unprecedented speed so that in 15 years the whole country was covered with a network of public schools (the first in the history of the world) with a better plan of studies than any in Europe, when it called to life the Educational Commission, the first ministry of education in Europe, when it began to increase its army and finally in 1791 promulgated the constitution of the third of May, which granted human rights, again the first of all the European nations, then it was that the czarina, who had pledged absolute safety to Poland, deluged the country with her soldiery and caused the second and the third dismemberments of Poland.

And again czar Alexander, the "great friend of Poland", when after the Napoleonic wars the Congress of Vienna created the Kingdom of Poland out of a portion of the Polish lands—called the Congressional Kingdom of Poland—and made the czar the Polish king, just as it is now being proposed, the new king made extraordinary promises to the Polish nation. He was indignant at his grandmother, Czarina Katharine, for her share in the partition of Poland and promised the union of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian lands to the Polish kingdom. When the Poles eagerly set about regenerating the nation, when they again began to establish schools all over the country

and when commerce and industry began to revive, Alexander, just as his grandmother, became terrified by the vision of the future power of the regenerating nation. Repressions and persecutions followed, the greatest Polish patriots were cast into prison or exiled to Siberia and his successor Nicholas caused the uprising of 1831. Poland was crushed under overwhelming force and thenceforth with very slight interruptions treated as a slave to the present time.

In 1905, having received a staggering defeat at the hands of Japan, Russia, fearing the sullen attitude of her people, granted them constitutional privileges. Many promises were again made to the Poles. Finally a measure of relief was granted to the Poles. The freedom of the press—a strange phenomenon—was proclaimed, the right of association and the permission to establish their own schools was granted.

And again, as twice formerly, Poland accepted these reforms with enthusiasm and began to carry them out. The work to lift the abused nation from the bog of slavery proceeded apace. In less than a year millions of rubles were collected, more than 1000 schools were founded and almost 2,000,000 persons were organized into the educational association, known as the "Macierz Polska."

As usual, the awakening of the nation aroused the fears of czardom. The rapid strides with which the elemental regeneration of the nation was proceeding had not been foreseen. An imperial manifesto closed all the schools, dis-

solved the "Macierz Polska" and abolished all the reforms.

Such is Russia and such it has always been toward the Poles. Nor is Prussia or Austria a whit better. The first has always followed a policy of systematic repression; the second granted us privileges only under dire necessity, obstructing our national life at every possible opportunity.

In the face of these brazen violations of pledges are we to place any credence in the latest promises of our ancient enemies? Nothing is too good for the Poles, when their support is necessary, but after the crisis passes, no promise is ever kept. That is the reason why the Poles trust and hope that as a result of the present terrible war the conscience of the world will awake, that justice will be meted out, and that the nations now groaning in slavery and dungeons will be lifted into the sunshine of liberty.

The Poles trust and hope that the United States, which freed Cuba, that England which gave freedom to the Boers after conquering them and consented to the granting of autonomy to Ireland, and that France, the steadfast friend of the Poles, will demand the political liberation of Poles, Bohemians, Lithuanians, Ruthenians, Slovaks, and of all those who suffer the yoke of foreign oppression.

Poland believes in the meting out of historical justice, wherever it has been withheld. It believes that permanent peace will be established in Europe only when the more powerful will cease to hold the less powerful in subjugation.



# The Inconsistency of Prof. Ross

By JOHN S. FURROW



HE serious attempts in "The Fatherland" would like to strike the death knell of the Slavs in Europe just as the humorous effort of Prof. Ed. Alsworth Ross in the August number of the "Century Magazine" would like to

deal a death blow to the Slavs in America. With the help of "The Fatherland" on one hand and of Prof. Ross on the other, the endeavors of Slavdom in general, to better their lot and to win a place among the nations of the world, surely will be nipped in the bud, the Kaiser will be permitted to disseminate his wonderfully civilizing Gospel of Militarism, and Prof. Ross will be enabled to live in peace far from the ignorant and vulgar Slav.

Prof. Ross laments that the ignorance and illiteracy of the Slavs is unparalleled in the his-

tory of the world and that among them gross superstition, priestcraft and drunkenness usually prevail.

Prof. Ross deplores the subservience of the common people to the upper classes, the subjection of the child to the parent, the Slav's coarseness of manner and speech, the Slav's low standards of cleanliness and comfort, the Slav's unpardonable medievalism.

Prof. Ross bursts into tears over the low position of woman among the Slavs and points out that the women lose their attractions very early, and, therefore, cannot exercise a refining influence upon their worthy spouses.

From the heights of his academic culture Prof. Ross brings under our notice the news that

"in old Hadley all up and down the beautiful elm shaded street the old colonial mansions are occupied by Poles". But to cap the climax, "these Poles, who were only one fifth of the population, accounted for two thirds of the births", while "in 21 rural counties of Minnesota the Polish women have borne on an average 7 children in the course of 14 and a half years of married life."

In view of the fact that the Slavs consider the bearing of ten children as woman's best lot, our standards of living, according to Prof. Ross, will be lowered, the English-American and the Irish-American will be pushed into oblivion,—and many a professor, we hasten to add, will be obliged, shovel in hand, to tackle at last real honest work.

Furthermore, Prof. Ross bewails the Slav's slow assimilation, his inexcusable clannishness and incapacity.

"The farmers", the writer assures us, "regard the Poles as uncleanly, intemperate, quarrelsome, ignorant, priest-ridden, and hard on women and children. The other farmers quickly sell out and move out from a neighborhood where a few Poles have settled. Soon a parish is organized, church and parish school arise, the public school decays, and Slavdom has a new outpost."

Those are the Slav's sins. As regards his good qualities, Prof. Ross is kind enough to admit that the Slav does not display such criminal tendencies as the Italian, but only engages in petty thieving and follows the direct path of violence.

Secondly, the writer disdainfully points out that the Slav satisfies the demand for raw labor, because he lacks constructive imagination, organizing ability and tenacity of purpose.

In answer to Prof. Ross, we first shall note that the Slav need not be ashamed because he is only a laborer.

It is known that the Slav tackles the toilsome work in the basic industries. He does the rough work in our oil-refineries, sugar-refineries and meat-packing establishments. body and strong of muscle, he toils moils in the iron and steel works and the clothing shops. Wilfully declining to become a parasite, he puts forth a strong arm in our foundries, coal-pits, blast furnaces, coke-ovens, smelters and metal refineries. In short, he lays his hand to the plough and his shoulder to the wheel, so that Prof. Ross and others may hold their easy, cultural positions. For if (we apologize for the slight variation) the Slav never delved, and his wife never span, could our professor then be the gentleman?

If we grant the Slav is ignorant, illiterate,

grossly superstitious, subservient and addicted to liquor, we must remember that he is such through no fault of his own. When we consider the inexorable repressions of bureaucratic governments and the disabilities laid upon the Slavic race, we must but be moved with admiration for the achievements of this people. It is the government that is to be blamed. Similarly, if public opinion condemns Germany, it does not condemn the Germany of Kant and culture, but the Kriegspartei, the lust for war with its horrible consequences, which seems to have dominated the life in that country.

Furthermore, the alleged low position of Slavic women is no menace to the welfare of this great republic, nor the fecundity of the Slav, which fills Prof. Ross with such dread, need give any cause for alarm in America.

We are familiar with Prof. Ross' great text-book on social psychology. In fact, we will admit that the book has been a source of inspiration to us. We regret, however, to remark that between the said text-book and the article in the "Century Magazine" there arises a slight inconsistency, which is as amusing as it is instructive.

In his text-book, for example, Prof. Ross notes again and again that it is not the profligacy of the upper class, but the Puritanism of the middle class that finally gives the key-note to the country's morals. This is the sociological principle, that the social superior is imitated by the social inferior. In his great book the author rejoices that this influence is stayed in case it conflicts with fundamental needs or instincts.

For example, in the Smart Set it is considered bad taste for ladies to nurse their children. Prof. Ross in his "Social Psychology" rejoices that the common sense of the lower classes revolts against this custom.

The upper classes have an aversion to early marriage. Prof. Ross once more joyfully hastens to add that "the conventions of the bourgeois will fail to fit the bigger, more emotional, and freer lives of working people". — His sympathy with the working class as shown in his "Social Psychology" seems to conflict with his snobbish antipathy to the laborers as shown in his article in the "Century Magazine". This apparent conflict we shall designate as inconsistency number one.

Inconsistency number two is concerned with the relation of the child to the parent. In his article in the "Century Magazine" Prof. Ross bewails, as we have stated above, the subjection of the child to his parent as obtaining among the Slavs. In his "Social Psychology" he writes the following in his splendid vivid style: "The laborer regards his children as his saving-banks and expects them to care for him when he gets old.

Parental abdication is not imitated by wageearners....... This does not arise from a lust of dominion, but it brings about the ideal relationship formed upon love and confidence."

Inconsistency number three affects the Slav's fecundity and the race suicide among the upper classes. In his text-book on social psychology Prof. Ross quotes from Mr. Watterson, who says: "The Smart Set is rotten through and through. Nine out of every ten of the fortunes behind them will not bear scrutiny."

Further in the same book Prof. Ross remarks: "Not long ago a Newport divine, preaching against divorce, pleaded with his fashionable congregation to order themselves more strictly in things marital." "Remember", he said to them in effect, "your example in family matters is followed by 80 million people."

The worthy divine can rest in peace. Thank God, the Slav does not imitate the Smart Set, which, Mr. Watterson assures us, is rotten to the core. Thank God, the Slav does not believe in race suicide and divorce.

Thus, in his text-book Prof. Ross wishes the upper classes the very qualities which he condemns in the Slavic citizens of this great republic. We were about to exclaim: "Judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts, and men have lost their reason"; but on second thought, we have concluded that this slight inconsistency of Prof. Ross is due to his "constructive imagination, organizing ability, and tenacity of purpose", qualities, according to Prof. Ross' article, so lamentably lacking in the Slav.

Incosistency number four deals with Prof. Ross' sympathy with the immigrant, as shown in his "Social Psychology", and his antipathy to the immigrant as exhibited in his article in the "Century."

The native American looks askance upon Polish immigrants because the latter do not intermarry freely with English stock and are not accustomed to Anglo-Saxon institutions.

They have the tendency to settle in groups and form little indigestible colonies, which may give them a political importance out of all proportions to their numbers and individual influence.

Yet these fears are groundless. The Slav readily becomes acquainted with Anglo-Saxon institutions. And in order to get his vote, no politician is induced to pander to him. The Slav is awakening, and though in the midst of hard physical struggle for existence, he is rather well alive (through reading papers in his own language) to the questions of the day.

Prof. Ross. admits this fact when in his "Social Psychology" he says: "Immigrants from a big and powerful people, like the English or the Chinese, Americanize less rapidly than representatives of the smaller peoples, like the Dane. Those that have no share and no pride in the State they come from — Irish, Russian Jews, Ruthenians, Slovaks, Poles-offer the least resistance of all". — In the "Century" article, on the other hand, Prof. Ross thunders against the Slav's slow assimilation and unpardonable clannishness!

Furthermore, in his "Social Psychology" Prof. Ross even sympathizes with the peoples that assimilate slowly and excuses their clannishness on the ground that "tradition may be cherished as the badge of a crushed but still living nationality." "A people", he says, "no longer independent, striving to keep itself distinct and united in the midst of another people (Czechs, Bulgars, Poles, Serbs, Georgians) naturally makes the literature and history of the distant epoch when it was independent and glorious, the focus of its attention, the pith of its instruction. If it has a religion of its own, it clings to it with a zeal all the more desperate because it is all that patriotism has to cling to."—Thus, priestcraft and Slavic clannishness alike, which he derides in his "Century" article, he sympathetically explains away in his "Social Psychology."

Hence, we love and respect the author of the superb text-book on social psychology; we must take issue, however, with the author of the article "The Slavs in America", in the August number of the "Century Magazine."

What the Slavs need, what any of the other immigrants need, is sympathy. It is this touch of nature that "makes the whole world kin." If we remember this, if we bear in mind that every society is renewed from the bottom, America shall have no ground for fear, and the hydra of snobbisness shall never coil itself around the Goddess of Liberty.

Sympathy is in order. It is so easy for a man, who moves in strictly academic spheres, to lose his grasp of life, to become snobbish, and to imagine he is the chosen favorite of the gods.

Let us never forget that majestic giant of sympathy, Abraham Lincoln, who uttered the words: "With malice towards none, with charity for all."

## To All Lovers of Liberty

Every lover of liberty and believer in democratic ideals should work for the restoration of freedom and independence to the nation whose dismemberment was one of the most monstrous crimes of history.

To advocate the cause of Poland is not a violation of the principles of neutrality during the present European crisis.

To advocate the cause of Poland is to advocate

the cause of justice, the cause of humanity, the cause of civilization, the cause of liberty,

the cause of democracy.

The hope of democracy lies in its never ceasing progress.

A free Poland will add 25,000,000 warriors for the cause of democracy.

Kosciuszko, Pułaski and other Poles offered their services and even lives on the altar of liberty for this country.

Liberty-loving Americans may help the cause of Poland by offering one dollar as a subscription to this publication for one year.

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